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The Mizan Newsletter aims at giving an objective and balanced account of current Soviet writings on the Middle East and Africa

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MIDDLE EAST

Soviet Views of Egypt Today suggests that a new and more critical tone has recently become apparent in Soviet accounts of conditions in the UAR. Kondrashov, the Cairo correspondent of IZVESTIYA, has described his impressions of the social ideals of the UAR regime as translated into practice; and he has also given an account of relations between Soviet technicians and Arab workers at the Aswan High Dam site, with some rather critical comments on the attitude of "the Arab side".

The Middle East in the Soviet Press reviews Soviet comment on the Iraqi revolution anniversary, UAR expressions of support for Soviet policy, and the Cyprus agreement.

AFRICA

Frontiers and Nations in Africa discusses the Soviet attitude to Africa's existing territorial frontiers. Soviet Africanists have displayed some interest in the possible rectification of frontiers to accord with ethnic groupings; but their attitude to individual problems has been largely guided by political considerations.

Africa in the Soviet Press is a survey of Soviet comment on political developments in most of the countries of Africa during the first six months of 1960. The principal aim of this is to review the Soviet attitude to political regimes and movements in Africa, and the development of Soviet relations with independent African countries.

Soviet reports and statements on the Congo events are the subject of a special supplement, SOVIET DOCUMENTS ON THE CONGO, which accompanies this issue.

SOVIET VIEWS OF EGYPT TODAY

I. The "Democratic Socialist Cooperative Society"

The theme of working class poverty figures fairly regularly in Soviet journalists' accounts of their impressions of Middle East countries today. In the case of Iraq and also - at least until recently - of the UAR it has afforded an opportunity to comment approvingly on Government measures to improve living standards. But in the case of the UAR Soviet journalists are now permitting themselves a more critical assessment of the contrast between the declared aims and ideals of the regime and the actual political and economic realities of the situation.

Doubts were cast on the efficacy of the UAR Government's economic measures in an article by Yuri Bochkarev, after a visit to Cairo (NEW TIMES No.7 of 1960). The problems that worried people in Cairo most, said Bochkarev, were of an economic nature:

> "The working folk bore the brunt of the struggle for independence, and now they want to see their living conditions improved. The present average income per capita in the Egyptian sector is no more than 3.5 Egyptian pounds, a sum far from adequate for normal nourishment, let alone other needs. For that reason they follow the Government's economic measures with keen attention. At times, however, these measures leave them perplexed."

More recently Kondrashov, IZVESTIYA's permanent correspondent in Cairo, has given Soviet readers some more detailed and critical accounts of the Egyptian scene today. The following article by Kondrashov, entitled "Two Days in Asyut", was published in SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.6 of 1960. It will be noted that the contrast between the official line as expressed by the "official propagandist" who accompanied Kondrashov, and the facts as observed by Kondrashov himself, is maintained throughout the article.

...We spent only the hours of night in the hotel and all the rest of the time we walked or drove round the town. We assisted at the celebration of the anniversary of the Port Said victory in a primary school, looked over a small factory where they weave by hand the beautiful Asyut carpets, which local patriots claim are the equal of Persian carpets, and visited the village of Beni Mur, 3 km. from the town, where Nasir was born. We wanted to know more about this original town and its people. Our guide was Muhammad Ali Hasan, the director and pretty well

the only employee of the Asyut section of the Department of Information. It was obvious that by nature he was a goodhearted, simple and sociable man. But his position of official propagandist carried with it certain obligations, as they say.

"Everything has changed" he repeated every now and then. Hasan stated the official theory of "a cooperative, democratic, socialist society". He did not consider it necessary to explain these concepts. I agreed that much had indeed changed, but all the same I reminded Hasan that classes have remained, and rich people who have land and factories, large houses and cars, while at the same time many find it difficult to live. Hasan parried everything with an argument which seemed to him irrefutable: Yes, they have remained, but all have become brothers. Everything has changed ..

The first Asyut figure with whom Hasan arranged a meeting for us was Muhammad Tawfiq Khashabah, chairman of the town committee of the National Union. He is an influential man in the town. Although he is already over forty he heads the Muslim youth organization, and is a permanent member of the winter aid association; Khashabah was also a person of importance during the Faruq regime, and now occupies the fairly prominent post of chairman of the Asyut organization of the National Union.

As is generally known, the National Union should unite all sections of the population and thus testify to the classless nature of Egyptian society. From time to time it has been completely forgotten (its practical importance is very small) and then they have tried to revive it. Latterly this has been the concern of Kamal ad-Din Husayn, Minister of Education of the UAR, who has been appointed Controller-General of the National Union.

According to Khashabah the whole population of Asyut belongs to the National Union. We had a lengthy conversation, part of which I would like to give verbatim.

"Mr. Khashabah, who is represented in the town committee of the National Union?"

"Traders, teachers, lawyers, workers - all sections of the population."

"Can you not give me the name of one of the workers?"

"But why? There are very many in the committee."

"All the same, as an example?"

Silence. A short conference with his assistants and Hasan.

"Muhammad Abdullah."

"And where does he work?"

Again a short conference.

"As a mechanic in the provincial directorate of the Ministry of Agriculture."

"Forgive me, and your occupation?"

"What importance does that have? I was a lawyer, and now ..."

Khashabah was in difficulties over the choice of a word, but the word was already on the tongue of our official propagandist Hasan: "Farmer". We were interested to know just what was implied by this word, which is unusual for Egyptians. It seems that landowners are called "farmers" here. We learnt that the committee above - the provincial committee - is also headed by a "farmer" called Khalil Husayn.

The Asyut Committee of the National Union occupies a two-storey villa which the government bought from a local feudal landlord. Tired of being questioned, Khashabah took us round the villa, tenderly stroking the leather of the new armchairs and sofas in his office, in the conference room and in the reception rooms, and with bent finger tapping the green metal cupboard in the treasurer's room. The furniture was brand-new, and had not been sat in or lived with.

The house where the governor receives people is quite different. In the building standing on the green bank of the Nile you catch the spirit of an important office. At the entrance there are two policemen in green uniforms with fixed bayonets. Along the corridors, light wooden galleries, and in the courtyard the visitors wander.

The governor, Ibrahim Salam, has a homely civilian look. From the pocket of his jacket sticks the corner of a white handkerchief. From his appearance you would not guess that the governor, or, as he is called in Arabic, mudir, has the rank of major-general of police. Like the other mudirs, Ibrahim Salam was appointed to this post by the President of the Republic on the recommendation of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The governor outlined the system of government of the mudiriyahs, in which an extremely modest place is given to civilian organs and independent activity by the people. A mudiriyah is divided into eight markaz. Each markaz is governed by a mamur, a police colonel who is subordinate to the mudir. In each markaz there are several police districts headed

by officers. In all, under the command of the mudir there are about 150 police officers and 500 other ranks. In the villages there is also an irregular village guard. They are armed, subordinate to the police authorities and subject to the military courts.

The conversation was carried on in English, and to start with the mudir simply could not understand what the National Union was that we were asking about. Was he a member of the National Union? With an emphatic gesture the mudir brushed the suggestion aside. The police, army and members of the justiciary do not belong to the National Union. Only the civilian population belongs. However, he added that the Union organizations help him and his subordinates to solve the problems of the mudiriyah.

Since the revolution of 1952 local government has been carried on by officials sent from Cairo, mainly representatives of the police and army. But they - as the government realize and the Cairo press sometimes deplores - are passive and pay little attention to the organization of economic life. This is one of the reasons for setting up the organizations of the National Union. Their practical importance is regarded as passing complaints and petitions from the population to the centre. But since the National Union is created from above, the role of the representatives of the population is taken on by the most influential stratum, those closest to the authorities - the local "farmers", merchants, and lastly the capitalists who have filtered into the provinces in recent years. The influence of the landowners on the life of the province, which was very strong under the king, and was undermined to a certain degree after the revolution, is growing again.

The fact that the landowners not only claim to be the defenders of the interests of the provincial population, but are also regarded by the authorities in this light, was brought home to us by an episode which occurred in our conversation with engineer Ibrahim Yusri, director of the Asyut baladiyah, or municipality. Enthusiastically he told us about the large water-purifying station being built in Asyut to supply the town with water, not from underground sources as at present, but from the Nile. The water-purifying station is a large, necessary and important project.

We asked about the composition of the municipal council. Together with his assistant Ibrahim Yusri explained to us that seven members of the council are government officials, and the remaining seven are appointed from representatives of the people. Who are they? The assistant begins to list them in Arabic. "Landowner", translates Yusri. "Farmer" protests our guide Hasan. Then an engineer is named, a former policeman, yet another landowner ("Farmer" - Hasan hurries to get his word in), merchant, lawyer and finally - another landowner.

This last unfortunate landowner gives the whole scene a humorous character. "He is not a landowner, but a poor fellah" - Hasan is upset. Ibrahim Yusri's assistant laughs. A fine poor fellah! It appears he has 100 feddans of land. A wealthy man!

"You simply must visit the Muslim youth club", Hasan exhorted us and, cutting short possible objections, added: "It is very well furnished."

A brief but apposite remark. The club is in a large modern building furnished with expensive furniture and carpeted with expensive carpets. They told us confidentially that every square metre of carpet costs £E11. In the library, a small corner room, there are about 100 books and 50 pamphlets.

All the visitors - at that evening hour there were about 50 - sat at small tables in the semi-basement, drank coffee and played backgammon. The opulent reception rooms on the first floor were empty.

All the ideological work revolves round themes which have already become boring - "The Arab Nation of Egypt" and "Religion and Society". One undecided question is still discussed: "Should women work?"

The next evening the indefatigable Hasan took us to the club of the Christian Coptic youth. The club was simpler, and the furniture was nothing to boast about. So Hasan took us to the ping-pong tables, took off his jacket, rolled up his sleeves, and quickly and skilfully defeated one of my companions. Here he was equal to the occasion.

II. Russians and Arabs at Aswan

The following are excerpts from an article by Kondrashov published in IZVESTIYA of 6th July, under the title "The First Summer in Aswan". The general underlying tone of the article is one of pride in the character and professional achievements of the Russian technicians working at the dam site. At the same time there are some interesting references to "the Arab side" - their refusal to attend building instruction courses arranged for them and their indecent haste to down tools at the end of the shift, and the difficulties created when an Arab contractor suddenly left to look for higher profits elsewhere.

...In Aswan it is summer. A breeze, coolness and shade - those are the things most desired and most lacking. Conversations always start with the heat. But heat or no heat, one must work, one must do what the Soviet people came here to do, one must build the High Dam and help the Arabs...

"He accepts everything as it is" - the poet noted the Russian characteristic of quickly getting used to the unusual and seeing it in the proper light. They go out to work now not in Stalingrad, Kuybyshev or Kremenchug, but in Aswan, in Africa, not far from the Tropic of Cancer. Well, and what is surprising in that? If you like, here too is the course of history, the natural development of our country and its people. The passage of the years leading up to their arrival in Africa to help another people has killed any feeling of surprise. But if you go back through the years ... Thirty years ago young Vasya Klement'yev worked on the construction of the Gor'kiy car factory. On the waste land between the villages of Molitovka and Monastyrka he saw foreign specialists too - American engineers. Did the manual labourer Klement'yev think then that the time would come when he himself would become a foreign specialist? ...

One day books and memoirs will be written about Soviet specialists in the countries of Asia and Africa. These are ordinary people of different types, not by any means necessarily heroes. They do not use extravagant but empty words and they do not like it when high-flown language is used to describe their work. The fact that they are superior to their colleagues from the West is explained both by the level of their technical knowledge and above all by their principles. There is a great difference between the internationalist who gives help because of his convictions and the mercenary cosmopolitan who renders a service to himself rather than to the other side. One has a social mission, the other private mercenary interests.

Anatoliy Travnikov served in the navy and after demobilization he wandered from place to place - from his native Archangel to Stalingrad where from 1951 he worked an excavator on the Volga-Don canal. We chatted on the construction site in the shade of a wooden crate. And then over lunch at the Rest House Travnikov remarked in passing that he had taught two Arabs the profession of crane-driver. A detail? Not simply a detail. It is a natural norm of behaviour at work for a Soviet man. Try to find that kind of specialist from a Western country!

The Soviet specialists in Aswan have already taught many Arabs to work tip-up lorries, excavators and cranes. Ignorance of the language is a hindrance, but they already know a little Arabic and in any case a worker explains what to do with his hands and by doing it. Relations are also being established in a purely workers' manner. The axe of an old Arab carpenter broke. The Soviet specialist had it welded. The old man was grateful. An inexperienced Arab mechanic damaged the blocks of his excavator. He was frightened that he would lose his job (with the unemployment here jobs are prized) and he repaired one block at his own expense. The Russians heard about this and helped him to repair two others for nothing. They decided to set up courses to teach the Arab

workers the building trades. They got everything ready and fixed the first lesson. But the Arab side considered this initiative undesirable. Well, as they say, they know their own business best.

It is easier to get used to the exotic surroundings than to the psychology and method of work. The palm-trees no longer surprise you after two weeks. The stuffed crocodiles and lizards, hung over the doors of houses and shops against various misfortunes, no longer surprise. But something else strikes the Soviet man. When the shift is over the local workers rush for the lorries, dropping their tools anywhere...

Among the Arab personnel there are many excellent engineers who are well informed and widely educated. But a deep furrow has been left in their consciousness by the colonial past; sometimes it is a lack of confidence in their ability, sometimes a feeling that there is no point in hurrying. Time is needed for the furrow to heal.

Not long ago there was a really odd incident. An Arab contractor, who had undertaken to build the workers' settlement for the Soviet specialists and the Arab engineering and technical personnel, suddenly stopped work and went off after exhorbitant profits to Kuwait, the oil shaykhdom on the Arabian peninsula. Until a new contractor gets the work going, the construction will be delayed half a year.

We mention all this to show that there are problems in the peaceful coexistence of two methods of work which is being worked out among the cliffs of Aswan. Much has already been achieved. Trust has increased, understanding has emerged, the Arab engineers see better what they can learn from their Soviet colleagues and are working with them in ever closer contact. And for the Soviet people there is nothing more satisfying than to see that their new comrades are devoting themselves to work with increasing enthusiasm...

THE MIDDLE EAST IN THE SOVIET PRESS

Below are reviewed reports on Middle East events appearing in Soviet newspapers during the period 20th June - 16th July.

Iraq A Soviet delegation led by M.D. Yakovlev, Vice-President of the Council of Ministers of the RSFSR, attended the Baghdad celebrations marking the second anniversary of the Iraqi Republic. The anniversary was the subject of articles in Soviet newspapers recalling the events of

14th July 1958, reviewing the progress made in Iraq in the last two years, and laying particular emphasis on Soviet-Iraqi friendship.

UAR UAR press comments favourable to Soviet policy continue to be quoted in the Soviet press. IZVESTIYA of 10th July published long extracts from an article in the Damascus newspaper AL-JUNDI expressing support for Soviet disarmament proposals. Military bases were a threat to the Arab peoples, said the paper, and the UAR's policy of positive neutrality demanded struggle against military bases and military blocs; "in the Soviet proposals we have found what we believe in and what we support." PRAVDA of 12th July published UAR press comments on Nasir's address to the National Union congress; these noted that Nasir had contrasted Soviet friendship for the UAR with the USA's "imperialist policy, closely linked with Zionism", which had "rejected the UAR's hand of friendship".

Turkey IZVESTIYA of 10th July reprinted, with some omissions, a long article published in the Turkish newspaper ANIS giving a detailed account of the events of the coup d'etat which brought about the overthrow of the Menderes Government. The article particularly applauded the attitude taken by Ismet Inonu towards Gen. Gursel's Government.

The Cyprus agreement PRAVDA of 3rd July published the following comment on the Cyprus agreement: "The agreement flagrantly violates the rights of the Cyprus Republic, since as a result of this haggling, as London newspapers have described the discussions, Britain has kept in Cyprus 100 square miles for its bases and other military installations...The agreement serves the aims of strengthening the position of NATO in this region of the Mediterranean."

FRONTIERS AND NATIONS IN AFRICA

On many African issues the Soviet attitude exhibits inherent contradictions. On the one hand there is the desire to present an ideal solution of the problem which will conform to Soviet ideology; on the other hand there is an anxiety to come to terms with the effective processes by which these problems are finding solution in Africa today. This vacillation between ideological correctness and realistic compromise is a characteristic of Soviet views regarding the political frontiers of African territories.

On their initial premise Soviet writers are unanimous. This is that the present frontiers of African territories were drawn up by the colonial powers exclusively in their own interests. A.Z. Zusmanovich (THE IMPERIALIST PARTITION OF AFRICA, Moscow 1959) says: "The deals concluded between the imperialist powers produced an ugly crop of unnatural frontiers which conformed to nothing except the appetites of the imperialist plunderers".

But the sweeping character of this generalization, with its inference that no African frontiers have proper ethnic, historical, geographical or economic justifications, at once leads its Soviet proponents into difficulties, and not least in relation to the nations which have now inherited these frontiers. One may question whether, for example, the interests of Nigeria today are better served by Soviet writers who question the validity of its frontiers on ethnic grounds, or by such a contribution as that of J.R. Prescott ("Nigeria's International Boundaries", WEST AFRICA Nos. 2244-6) with his objective account of the considerations - ethnic and economic as well as political - which in fact guided those responsible for drawing Nigeria's boundaries.

The ethnic criterion In his introduction to PEOPLES OF AFRICA, the first comprehensive Soviet work of reference on Africa (1954), I.I. Potekhin says of Africa's frontiers:

> "Africa is divided into some dozens of colonies. The existing frontiers of the colonies bear no relation to the ethnic composition of the population. The Lunda tribes are divided between the Belgian Congo and Northern Rhodesia, the Mashona between Southern Rhodesia and Mozambique, the Bechuana live in the Union of South Africa and Bechuanaland, the Yoruba in Nigeria and Dahomey, etc. The Ewe have been divided between the Gold Coast, French Togoland, British Togoland and Dahomey."

Elsewhere in the book it is stated that in West Africa "not one of

the colonies represents a geographical or ethnic unit". Other writers, in studies of individual peoples and territories, similarly emphasize the ethnic incorrectness of existing frontiers. V.I. Vologdina ("The Ewe people", AFRICAN ETHNOGRAPHIC SYMPOSIUM I, 1956) says that "from the ethnic aspect Togoland is an artificial slice of the Guinea coast, whose frontiers have no connection with the boundaries of settlement of its peoples". R.I. Ismagilova ("The Peoples of Kenya under the Conditions of the Colonial Regime", ibid.) says that "from the ethnic point of view Kenya is a roughly carved slice of African territory whose frontiers in no way conform to the ethnic composition of the population".

But at the same time Soviet writers show an awareness of the fact that nations are forming within the existing frontiers. The authors of PEOPLES OF AFRICA say: "The former tribal boundaries are disappearing and the basic classes of a bourgeois society are gradually forming; a local bourgeoisie is appearing, and a working class is being formed." Nations, according to Leninist doctrine, are the product of the bourgeois capitalist stage of social development. But, one might ask, if tribal divisions are overridden in the nation-forming process, will not the larger ethnic divisions be similarly overridden? PEOPLES OF AFRICA does not discuss the question further; it says that "the processes of the national consolidation of the peoples of Western Sudan (West Africa) have not yet been investigated".

Some of the wider implications of the problem are examined in Potekhin's article "The Tasks of Studying the Ethnic Composition of Africa in Connection with the Disintegration of the Colonial System" (SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA No.4 of 1957). Much of Potekhin's article is taken up with blaming the colonial powers for first creating ethnically divided territories and then claiming that these ethnic divisions render them unfit for independence. Thus, he says, a vicious circle has been created; but this the African peoples themselves will break:

> "Already some colonies have received the status of independent states. But the artificial character of the frontiers remains a fact which it is impossible not to take into account; you cannot get away from it. Without doubt the African peoples themselves will correct these frontiers."

But, in Potekhin's view, for the necessary and inevitable "national demarcation" the liquidation of the colonial regime and the formation of independent bourgeois states may not be enough, since "the nature of the bourgeoisie is everywhere the same - it does not depend on colour of skin"; he adds that "life will show how this will be accomplished". Potekhin evidently means that at a later stage of social development - presumably a socialist stage - it will be possible to re-draw the existing frontiers, which bourgeois governments tend to accept and preserve.

That this remained Potekhin's opinion is shown in his article on tasks for Soviet Africanists arising out of the Accra Conference of African Peoples (SOV. ET. No.2 of 1959). After noting that the conference had called for the liquidation or revision of "artificial barriers and frontiers created by the imperialists for the division of African peoples", Potekhin again expressed his doubts about the likelihood of bourgeois governments undertaking this task. He goes on to speak of the responsibility of Soviet Africanists in this matter:

> "The task of scholars is to assist by their researches the best solution of this question. It is essential to draw up an accurate ethnic map of the African continent, and to show the effective ethnic blocs, the degree of their consolidation into peoples and nations, their distribution, the relations between political and ethnic frontiers, the ethnic composition of each state or colony and of the large ethnographic regions."

Races and nations It would appear from the above that Soviet Africanists regard ethnic unity as the most important factor in the formation of African nations. Yet at the same time, by recognizing and indeed emphasizing the reality of "national consciousness" among nations developing within existing territorial boundaries, they invalidate to a large extent their own ethnic criterion. Potekhin himself (SOV. ET. No.4 of 1957) contrasts the purely "scientific" character of linguistic classifications with "the real ethnic processes taking place in African countries"; and he goes on to speak of processes which are only "ethnic" in the wider Soviet sense of the term:

> "The growth of mining industry and of plantation agriculture is accompanied by the growth of population in the towns and mining centres and by the development of culture and national consciousness. The processes of nation forming, which began a long time ago, are now developing at an extremely rapid rate...In our days not only the political map of Africa is being changed, but also its ethnic map; the former tribal multiplicity is becoming a thing of the past, giving place to national communities."

It is also somewhat inconsistent that Soviet Communists should be champions of ethnic unity, when the viability of multinational states, under Communism, is a Soviet tenet. Potekhin indeed, discussing the disparate ethnic and linguistic character of the Northern and Southern Sudan, says that "in the conditions of a socialist society, with its principles of national equality, this situation would not give rise to particular difficulties". If a socialist society is content with ethnic anomalies, why should Potekhin blame a bourgeois society for accepting them?

It seems evident that, in advocating the re-drawing of Africa's frontiers, Soviet Africanists have believed themselves to be following an effective trend of African sentiment, which would in the long run prevail over "bourgeois" inclinations to preserve the status quo. However, during recent years Soviet writers have increasingly noted the consolidation of African national sentiment around emergent nation states, as constituted in their present boundaries. For instance A.I. Sobchenko (SOVETSKAYA ETNOGRAFIYA No.3 of 1957) says it is still impossible to speak of the Congolese as a nation; but he notes that some political and other organizations in the Congo override ethnic groupings, and later (SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.2 of 1959) observes that such processes are "hastening the process of the consolidation of the population of the country".

It would not be surprising if, as the effective national unity of newly independent states become more apparent, considerations connected with the re-drawing of Africa's frontiers were relegated to a less important place in Soviet African studies. Meanwhile individual fusionist or separatist initiatives are treated on their political, and not ethnic, merits.

AFRICA IN THE SOVIET PRESS

Below are reviewed reports on events in Africa appearing in Soviet newspapers and periodicals in the six months ending 10th July 1960. The aim of this survey is to record Soviet reports and comments which throw light either on Soviet relations with African countries or on the Soviet attitude to individual African countries and problems.

The principal ingredients in Soviet reports on Africa are denunciations of colonial rule and expressions of solidarity with African "liberation" movements. No attempt has been made to reproduce these for their own sake. The interest in Soviet accounts of developments in Africa - particularly in the newly independent states - lies rather in the degree to which support is expressed for or withheld from political regimes and movements in these countries.

Congo

The road to independence The Congo's progress towards independence has been much written about in the Soviet Union. Although this survey is confined to articles in the daily and periodical press, it would be

unrealistic not to mention V.A. Martynov's work THE CONGO UNDER THE YOKE OF IMPERIALISM, which went to press in November 1959; this gives an account of the "national liberation movement" in the Congo, from the Batetele risings of 1895-1902 to the disturbances of 1959, which subsequent periodical articles seem to have drawn upon. It is perhaps of some interest that in his account of Congolese political parties Martynov speaks of the Congolese Union party as a resolute and successful opponent of "the reactionary Conakat Party of Katanga, which demands autonomy for the province with the aim of splitting the people of the Congo". Martynov also recalls the expressions of Soviet solidarity with the Congolese people and the "protests against the outrages of the colonizers" at the time of the 1959 disturbances, protests in which the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, Soviet writers and a Soviet parliamentary group joined. One of Martynov's themes is the post-war growth of the proletariat and the workers' movement in the Congo; and he notes that a Western observer has remarked on the prevalence of Marxist notions among Congolese in Leopoldville and Katanga, and on the likelihood of the further spread of Marxism in the Congo.

SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.6 of 1960 (which went to press on 4th June) published an article by V. Kaboshkin and I. Kuznetsov on the independence of the Congo. After giving an account of the Congolese independence movement and the Brussels conference decisions, the article went on:

> "The Congolese people realise that the decisions taken by the conference are only the first step on the way to attaining genuine independence. The colonialists are trying to split the national-liberation movement, to get their puppets into provincial and national government bodies and to create support for the foreign monopolies which want to exploit the popular masses of the country as before.
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> "According to reports in the Belgian press, Belgian banking circles are at present withdrawing large sums from the financial funds of the Congo in order to prove the 'inevitability' of the economic anarchy which will be caused by the transition of the country to independence.
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> "The desire to profit at the expense of the nascent independent State is shown not only by certain Belgian circles, but also by many of those who have grown accustomed to build their prosperity on the exploitation of other peoples. Soon after the end of the Round Table Conference, the French Government, citing a convention signed in 1883 when King Leopold II was still the owner of the Congo, announced its 'rights of succession' to the Belgian Congo. At the same time Roy Welensky, Prime Minister of the Federation of Rhodesia and Nyasaland created by the British

colonialists, made an announcement expressing the desire 'to extend the hand of friendship' to the richest Congolese province, Katanga, if it should wish to unite with the Federation.

"All this shows that the Congolese people, who have achieved considerable successes in the cause of their national liberation, are still faced with a hard and bitter struggle. The peoples of the Soviet Union will follow this struggle with great attention and sympathy."

The above article was accompanied by a detailed account of the Congo's mineral and other natural resources, with an illustrative map, and also an account of the leading political parties in the Congo. According to the latter, the Conakat Party of Katanga province was "financed by the big Union Miniere trust"; its leader Moise Tshombe had "declared his desire to cooperate with the Europeans".

The independence celebrations - The Soviet delegation attending the Congo independence celebrations, led by M.R. Rakhmatov (see below under Togo), left Moscow on 24th June. The delegation was received by Lumumba on 2nd July, and conveyed to him a message of greetings from Khrushchev. Khrushchev said in his message that "the people of the Congo by their historic victory over the forces of colonialism have dealt a new and serious blow to the dying colonial system and have once more demonstrated the inflexible resolve of the peoples of Africa finally to have done with this shameful system, based on exploitation, inequality and the sufferings of millions and millions of oppressed people".

The independence celebrations were covered by a special correspondent of Tass and by special correspondents of PRAVDA (O. Orestov) and IZVESTIYA (N. Khokhlov). Colourful descriptions of the enthusiasm of the Congolese people were the main ingredient in their dispatches. Reviewing recent events in the Congo, Khokhlov said that the colonialists, resolved to thwart independence, had encouraged the formation of new parties and their leaders' demands for ministerial portfolios, and had promoted separatist movements in various provinces; but the leaders of the main political parties, though differing on many issues, were united about the formation of a single Congo Government. However, "it would be wrong to think that the inter-party struggle has ceased".

Orestov secured an interview with the Deputy Premier Antoine Gizenka. He reported him as saying: "We do not wish to align ourselves with any bloc of powers, and we are ready to establish friendly relations with any state which agrees to respect our sovereignty. The people of the Congo will be happy to establish relations of friendship with the

Soviet Union. We are happy that our people has dealt a heavy blow to imperialism in securing its independence. Now our task is struggle for social transformations, against capitalism."

The disturbances Soviet reports and statements on events in the Congo since independence are the subject of a special supplement, SOVIET DOCUMENTS ON THE CONGO, which accompanies this issue.

Other Newly Independent African States

Cameroun Welcoming Cameroun's accession to independence, Soviet newspapers reviewed the country's history and, in particular, emphasized the difficulties facing it as an independent state. M. Tursun-Zade (IZVESTIYA 28.1.60) observed that armed clashes were still taking place in Cameroun, that patriots who had fought for independence were outlawed, and that in its struggle against them the Cameroun Government had recourse to the assistance of the armed forces of the former colonial regime. The Permanent Secretariat of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Council had declared that the independence of Cameroun could only become effective after free and democratic elections in which representatives of the hitherto banned people's movement could take part, and the Soviet public was in full agreement with this.

SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.1 of 1960 published an article by Felix-Roland Moumie, president in exile of the Union des Populations Camerounaises, similarly stating the conditions for genuine Cameroun independence. No report or comment on the Cameroun elections of 11th April has appeared in the Soviet press.

Togo The Soviet delegation attending the Togo independence celebrations of 27th April was led by M. Rakhmatov, Vice-President of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet and President of the Praesidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Tadzhik Republic. A message from Khrushchev expressed the Soviet Government's desire to establish diplomatic relations with the new state, and this was confirmed in an agreement between Rakhmatov and Sylvanus Olympio, the Premier of Togo.

On 27th April Soviet newspapers published long articles on Togo reviewing the country's history and economic prospects and, in particular, the progress already made in Togo since its present Government assumed Office on 27th April 1958. PRAVDA had the benefit of a report from Lome from its special correspondent in West Africa, Oleg Orestov. (A detailed account by Orestov of Togo's development programme, based on the local press and on his own talks with Sylvanus Olympio, was published in

SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.3 of 1960). Soviet writers gave a very sympathetic account of Sylvanus Olympio's aim to balance the budget without foreign subsidies; the development of the "self-aid" system of volunteer labour for building and road-making, and the creation of labour brigades to work on the land; the encouragement of cooperative farming; measures towards the creation of local industry; the process of "Togolization" of the administration, etc. It was noted that the country was expanding its trade, and that one of its new trading partners was the Soviet Union, which made its first purchase of Togoland cocoa in 1959.

Mali The declaration of the independence of Mali on 20th June was the subject of only very brief reports in Soviet newspapers. The Soviet view, as expressed in broadcasts, is that Mali has achieved "only the first step towards real freedom and independence", and that the "unequal agreements" it has concluded with France are an obstacle to economic independence. Ya. Abet, in an article in MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNYYE OTNOSHENIYA No.5 of 1960, said that Senghor, Keita and Dia were "champions of the so-called 'African way to socialism'", and that "their 'socialism' has a marked petty bourgeois and reformist character and represents an eclectic mixture of different ideological trends".

Madagascar As in the case of Mali, Soviet comment on Madagascar's accession to independence took the line that Madagascar's independence was strictly circumscribed by the agreements with France, under which French armed forces remained in the island and "the rule of the French monopolies is maintained " (IZVESTIYA 28.6.60). Only the first step towards full independence - although an important one - had been taken; as the progressive Malagasy press made clear, the struggle for genuine independence continued.

Somalia On the occasion of Somalia's independence Khrushchev sent to Abdullahi Issa a message of fervent good wishes and expressed the Soviet Union's desire to establish diplomatic relations with the new state. A Soviet delegation led by N.A. Dygay attended the independence celebrations in Mogadishu, and according to the special correspondent of Tass was very warmly received by the Somali Premier. The special correspondent of IZVESTIYA, S. Kondrashov, said that immediately on the delegation's arrival they were told by a representative of the Somali Government: "We have been waiting to see you more than anyone. We remember that at the UN the Soviet Union was the first to champion the independence of Somalia against the Western powers. Our people will not forget that." Articles on Somalia in Soviet newspapers remarked on the backwardness of the Somali territories; according to V. Trofimov (IZVESTIYA

2.7.60) "the living standard was extraordinarily low in the British Protectorate of Somaliland, where almost 80 years of British rule brought the Somalis nothing except poverty and exhausting slave labour". In overcoming their colonial legacy, said Trofimov, the Somali people could count on the sincere sympathy and unselfish support of the Soviet people.

Ethiopia

Under a Soviet-Ethiopian agreement on economic and technical co-operation signed in Addis Ababa on 25th March, within the framework of the Soviet-Ethiopian credit agreement, Soviet organizations will provide technical assistance in the construction of an oil refinery, geological prospecting operations, the equipment of a gold mine and investigating the possibility of constructing a metallurgical works (PRAVDA 27.3.60). Under an agreement signed in Addis Ababa on 8th March, and in accordance with a Soviet proposal made at the time of the Emperor Haile Selassie's visit to the Soviet Union, the Soviet Union as a gift to Ethiopia will build and equip a technical school for 1,000 pupils. The school will train technicians for the textile, agricultural machinery, timber, chemical, electrical and other industries (IZVESTIYA 10.3.60). The Emperor Haile Selassie opened an exhibition of Soviet drawings in Addis Ababa on 4th March (PRAVDA 6.4.60). On 20th February the Soviet Ambassador formally presented to the Emperor the specially equipped IL-14 aircraft offered to him by the Soviet Government during his visit to the Soviet Union (PRAVDA 21.3.60). At the invitation of the Ethiopian Government and armed forces a Soviet military delegation arrived in Addis Ababa on 28th April for the festivities marking the 25th anniversary of the Ethiopian military academy (IZVESTIYA 30.4.60). A Soviet industrial exhibition was opened in Addis Ababa on 26th May by M.A. Lesechko, who arrived in Addis Ababa on 21st May at the head of a Soviet industrial delegation. In a report on the opening PRAVDA's special correspondent I. Belyayev spoke of the keen interest in it shown by the Ethiopian public and the Emperor himself (PRAVDA 28.5.60).

Sudan

PRAVDA of 19th March published an account of statements made by the Sudanese Premier Ibrahim Abbud to US journalists on the subject of his Government's foreign policy. These included the statement that the Communist bloc did not represent any danger for the Sudan, and that the Sudanese people had expressed the desire to recognize Communist China, "and my Government has approved this desire".

IZVESTIYA of 28th June published under the heading "Daylight Robbery" the report that the World Bank had agreed to grant the Sudan a

loan of 15,500,000 dollars at seven per cent interest.

Guinea

Relations with the Soviet Union PRAVDA reported on 3rd March that, in accordance with the Soviet-Guinea economic and technical assistance agreement of August 1959, talks were held in Conakry in January and February to determine the projects to be undertaken with Soviet technical assistance under the long-term credit agreement. Under a protocol signed on 1st March the USSR during 1960-3 will provide technical assistance in the construction of a cement factory, a railway sleeper works, a footwear factory, a fruit and vegetable cannery, a refrigeration plant, a polytechnic institute for 1,500 students and a stadium in Conakry to seat 25,000. The protocol also provides for geological prospecting operations for diamonds and gold, the provision of equipment and machinery for working diamond deposits, the provision of agricultural machinery and assistance in the organization of a state rice farm of about 7,000 hectares, the organization of dairy farms, and technical aid in the reconstruction of Conakry airport and of the railway in the section Conakry-Mamu. In addition the Soviet Union will provide equipment for the mechanization of the port of Conakry and for the construction of asphalt roads, equipment for Guinea's state construction and assembly organization, and technical assistance in the construction of a number of other items.

On 15th March a group of 19 Soviet tourists, the first to visit Guinea, arrived in Conakry. They comprised scholars, writers, poets, artists and journalists (IZVESTIYA 16.3.60). A cultural delegation from Guinea led by Kanfori Bangura, director of Guinea's State Committee for Art and Culture, spent five days in Alma Ata, the capital of Kazakhstan, returning to Moscow on 29th April (KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA 1.5.60). Under a Soviet-Guinean cultural cooperation agreement signed in Conakry on 8th June Soviet films will be shown in Guinea, radio programmes will be exchanged, Guinea will send students to study in Soviet establishments of higher education, Soviet teachers and lecturers will visit Guinea and Soviet specialists will give assistance in studying Guinea's natural resources (KOMMUNIST TADZHIKISTANA 10.6.60).

PRAVDA of 9th February published Sekou Toure's letter inviting Khrushchev to visit Guinea (15.1.60) and Khrushchev's letter of acceptance (30.1.60). Guinean enthusiasm at the news of the forthcoming visit was the subject of later reports.

Soviet accounts of progress in Guinea PRAVDA of 7th April published an account of Guinea's three-year plan, as approved at the conference of the Guinean Democratic Party on 5th April. It was noted in particular that

the plan provided for the extension of the state and cooperative sectors of the economy as against the private sector, and included the establishment of over 500 collective farms. "The Minister of Planning, Keita Nfamara, said that Guinea will not take the road of capitalism or of bourgeois development; it will proceed on its own road, which will ensure the best life for its people."

IZVESTIYA published four long instalments of an account by V. Kudraytsev of an extensive tour of Guinea (4th, 5th, 13th and 22nd May). His main theme was the contrast between backwardness under the colonial regime and progress since independence. TRUD (5th and 12th May) published a similar account by N. Kuznetsov of travels in Guinea.

South Africa

Mr. Macmillan's visit Commenting on Mr. Macmillan's forthcoming trip to Africa, A. Belyayev (INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS No.1 of 1960) observed that "the British Government has never come out against the excesses of the South African racists", and that at the last UN session Britain had voted against the resolution condemning South Africa's racial policies. In a comment after Mr. Macmillan's African visit L. Stepanov (NEW TIMES No.7 of 1960) noted that Mr. Macmillan had expressed disagreement with South Africa's racial policy, but went on: "If Mr. Macmillan's words are followed with a change in policy towards the racists, the African nations and the whole world will acclaim him. So far, however, there is no indication of such a change. The Prime Minister morally condemned racism, and there and then went on to say that he deplored the boycott of South Africa's goods instituted by the British public and businessmen in protest against her racist policy."

The Sharpeville shooting PRAVDA's report on the Sharpeville incident of 21st March was sent from its correspondent in Accra, Oleg Orestov. After his account of the shooting he asked: "What gave rise to the demonstrations of the South African population? For many years now daily cables have brought news of new incidents in the suppression of the elementary rights of the native population of ten millions, of brutal reprisals against people protesting against the inhuman system of apartheid - the segregation of the African population of the Union, enforced by the Nationalist Party Government." He went on to say that in Accra he had met Leslie Rubin, "member of the Liberal Party and a declared enemy of the apartheid system", who had given him a brochure entitled "This Is Apartheid"; "I did not write it", he told me, "the Verwoerd Government itself wrote it." The rest of Orestov's dispatch consisted of extracts from the brochure, which were in effect examples of Native legislation in South Africa.

On 25th March PRAVDA published a Tass statement denouncing the actions of the South African authorities, which, the statement said, "systematically ignoring the opinion of the UN organization and world public opinion, not only continue the policy of racial oppression but have now turned to methods of mass annihilation of peoples of other races". On 26th March PRAVDA published a statement by the Soviet All-Union Central Committee of Trade Unions demanding respect for human rights in South Africa. World-wide protests and the speeches made at the UN Security Council session were prominently reported under large headlines; IZVESTIYA of 8th April devoted seven columns to these reports, under a banner headline "No Place in the World for Racism". NEW TIMES No.14 of 1960 said that responsibility for the Sharpeville events "must be shared also by those Western representatives at the UN who year after year have evaded resolute condemnation of racialism and racialist outrages in South Africa".

The South African Communist Lionel Forman SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.2 of 1960 published an obituary by Apollon Borisovich Davidson of the South African Communist Lionel Forman. Forman, said Davidson, was accused No.83 in the South African treason trial which had been going on in South Africa for over three years. He had written a book on the trial, a translation of which had been published in Moscow in 1959. In a letter to his wife, written shortly before his death and intended for press publication, he had declared his unshakable conviction that "Communism will triumph in South Africa". Reading such a letter, said Davidson, one felt all the more convinced that "the dark forces of reaction will not succeed by any repressions in preserving the present regime in South Africa, if such people as Lionel Forman gave their lives for the liberation of the peoples of this country".

Other Commonwealth Countries

Rhodesia and Nyasaland No reports on events in the Federation appeared in the Soviet metropolitan press during the period under review. Tass reports on the following topics appeared in Central Asian newspapers: the formation in London of a committee of the African National Congress of Southern Rhodesia, under the chairmanship of Joshua Nkomo (22.1.60); the publication in London of a brochure by Guy Clutton-Brook attacking the Federation (25.2.60); a press conference given in Addis Ababa by Kanyama Chiume, Secretary of the Nyasaland African Congress (3.3.60); a statement made in London by Chona, vice-chairman of the "Northern Rhodesian united national independence party", alleging tortures of detainees in Northern Rhodesia (15.5.60).

AFRICA

Kenya Events in East Africa find very little reflection in the Soviet daily press, major political developments (such as the London Conference on Kenya) being cautiously reviewed in the periodical press only. Y. Konstantinov (INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS No.3 of 1960) said that "British policy in Kenya has been forced in some degree to take account of the new wind that is blowing in Africa"; the holding of the Kenya constitutional conference was in itself a symptom of this, and the conference itself showed that "the positions of the colonialists have been weakened in an African area which was to have served as one of their mainstays". NEW TIMES, on the other hand (No.10 of 1960) said that at the conference "not one of the Africans' demands was granted...It has hardly justified the African delegates' travelling expenses." The attitude of Tom Mboya and other African delegates to the conference decisions, and the acceptance by African nationalists of Ministerial posts under the new Constitution, are issues on which the Soviet press has published no comment. It was noted (O. Tsbetayev in SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.4 of 1960) that Mathenge, Secretary-General of the People's Assembly Party of Kenya, and Akumu, Chairman of its Mombasa branch, had condemned the new Constitution.

Tanganyika No major comment on the progress of the nationalist movement in Tanganyika has been published since V. Katsman's review of the Tanganyika elections (SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.3 of 1959), which acclaimed the election results as a victory for the independence forces. The rail strike of February was the subject of a short article by O. Georgiev in SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.5 of 1960; like the earlier strikes of workers in the diamond mines, sisal plantations and ports, said Georgiev, it showed that "in Tanganyika the economic struggle of the African workers is closely bound up with political demands - the workers well understand that their life will only be better when the country becomes independent".

Uganda NEW TIMES No.5 of 1960 published a report on the Bukedi disturbances of January, under the heading "Revolt in Uganda". The cause of the revolt, said NEW TIMES, was exorbitant taxation. "The tax collecting is done by the tribal chiefs...They are allowed to fix the amount of the taxes themselves, and they take advantage of it shamelessly to plunder the people, both for the colonialists' benefit and their own". Over half a million people were involved in the disturbances, said NEW TIMES, and scores had been killed and wounded.

Zanzibar In a long article on Zanzibar (NEW TIMES No.5 of 1960) Alla Lyubarskaya said that despite "so-called constitutional reforms" the island was still virtually ruled by the British Resident. The two main political parties had recently sent a memorandum to the British Colonial Secretary demanding immediate self-Government for Zanzibar. "This once

quiet haven of imperialist rapine is now burning to cast off its colonial chains."

Ghana The visit to the Soviet Union of the Ghanaian parliamentary delegation led by Kojo Botsio (30th April-17th May) was prominently reported in the Soviet press. When the delegation was received by Khrushchev in the Kremlin on 6th May Kojo Botsio conveyed to Khrushchev Dr. Nkrumah's invitation to him to visit Ghana.

The proclamation of the Republic of Ghana was the occasion for a message of good wishes from Khrushchev to Dr. Nkrumah (PRAVDA 1.7.60). TRUD of 2nd July published an account of Ghana's economic progress, to mark the occasion, by its correspondent S. Pronin who had been visiting Ghana. Pronin had the following to say about the progress of the Volta river project under British and US supervision:

> "Judging by the pace of work which we saw on the site of the future dam, up to now they have not been in a hurry to translate their words into action. What is more, representatives of British firms are making it a condition of their 'assistance' that a considerable part of the electric power be transmitted to the aluminium combine to be built nearby, three-quarters of whose production must be sold to British companies for thirty years. It is not accidental, either, that neither the British nor the American dam project allows for the construction of navigation locks, which will virtually prevent the Volta becoming a main transport highway. And the importance of such a highway is obvious if you take into account that the river crosses the whole country."

Nigeria Nigeria's political prospects have been assessed by PRAVDA's West African correspondent Orestov in articles in PRAVDA and SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.4 of 1960. Orestov accused British administrators of interfering in the December elections, "striving to undermine the positions of the NCNC and the Progressive Union", and alleged that American firms had distributed election propaganda on behalf of the Action Group. The elections, he said, had shown above all the results of "the colonialist policy of division of the country"; most of the voters had voted not according to party programmes but according to national or religious allegiances; "some years will pass before the people of Nigeria can put an end to the disunity fostered by the foreign rulers."

V. Rybakov (MIROVAYA EKONOMIKA I MEZHDUNARODNAYA POLITIKA No.2 of 1960) noted with approval that the NCNC leader Azikiwe had called for a policy of neutrality, non-participation in military blocs and friendship

with all countries; "in particular, he has declared that after the proclamation of independence Nigeria will establish diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union."

North Africa

Algeria At the time of the Algerian mutiny of January Soviet newspapers published long special dispatches from Paris on the course of events. The ending of the mutiny was attributed to the pressure of French democratic public opinion, as exemplified in the one-hour strike of twelve million French workers on 1st February. PRAVDA published a fairly full account of President de Gaulle's broadcast of 29th April. The resolutions on Algeria passed by the plenary session of the French Communist Party on 4th February were fully reported.

Reports on military operations in Algeria published in the Soviet press have been based on the communiques issued by the High Command of the Algerian National Liberation Army in Cairo.

Soviet newspapers occasionally publish articles on Algeria and on other African issues written by correspondents of the French Communist organ HUMANITE. An example of this was Madeleine Riffo's article on the sentences passed on Henri Alleg and Ahmed Accache by the Algiers military court. TRUD reported (24.6.60) that the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee had sent a telegram of protest to the court.

Another contribution from France on an Algerian issue was the long article "The Power of Oil" by Charles Aroche (IZVESTIYA 3.6.60). The main theme of this was that the exploitation of Saharan oil would serve the interests not of France but of the "international cartel" of oil companies. France's attempts to perpetuate her sovereignty in the Sahara by making it a special administrative unit violated the ideals of the French community itself. "To claim that the Sahara does not belong to Africa is equivalent to saying that Persian oil does not belong to Persia, or the Suez Canal to Egypt. The African nations, and above all the Algerian people, have their roots in the desert, and they demand their share in the exploitation of the wealth of the Sahara which belongs to them."

The Melun talks between Algerian and French representatives were welcomed in the Soviet press. S. Zykov (IZVESTIYA 22.6.60) said that the fact that the talks had materialized was in itself a success for the Algerian liberation movement, and later (25.6.60) that this development "puts to the test the real intentions of the French Government". The statements made by the FLN leaders on the conclusion of the talks, stating that the present French attitude precluded further negotiations,

were reported without comment. On 10th July, however, PRAVDA published a long article on Algeria signed "Observer" (such articles are always of an authoritative character), under the heading "End the War in Algeria". This emphasized France's interest in ending the Algerian war, and reviewed the development of the French attitude up to de Gaulle's statement of 14th June, of which it spoke approvingly; de Gaulle, it said, had dropped the "humiliating" conditions earlier set, which would have meant the effective capitulation of the national liberation army; he had addressed himself directly to the Algerian leaders, thereby in effect recognizing the Algerian provisional government as representing the Algerian people and as an equal partner in the discussions; and he had expressed himself decisively against the integration of Algeria with France, "again putting forward the formula of an 'Algerian Algeria'". The course of the subsequent Melun talks, in which the French side had tried to substitute dictation for negotiation, had showed that certain French leaders did not want to go further than verbal recognition of Algeria's right to self-determination; and the correctness of the Algerian attitude in breaking off the talks had been admitted even by French bourgeois observers. The article concluded by expressing Soviet sympathy and support for the Algerian liberation movement, and declaring that "the only real way to end this war is by direct negotiations between the two belligerent sides".

Tunisia PRAVDA reported on 4th May that the Soviet and Tunisian Governments, "wishing to strengthen the friendly links between the two countries and to normalize relations between them", had decided to exchange diplomatic missions at the rank of embassies.

Articles on Tunisia were published in Soviet newspapers on 20th March, on the occasion of Tunisia's National Day. In IZVESTIYA V. Kudryavtsev said that in Tunisia "the ulcers of colonialism have still not healed, as is shown in the one-sided development of the economy and its close connection to the market of the former metropolis" and also in the maintenance in Bizerta of a French naval base "where the colonizers still infringe the sovereignty of the republic".

Morocco The legal proceedings taken against the Moroccan Communist Party, which were concluded on 9th February when the Rabat appeal court confirmed the Government's decision to suppress the party, were reported in Soviet newspapers, together with comments by the party's Secretary-General Ali Yata and by the French Communist Party organ HUMANITE denouncing the decision. SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK No.2 of 1960 published a review of Alma Yata's book "The Dossier of an Exile", published in Moscow in Russian translation, concerning the struggle of the Moroccan Communist Party against French rule in Morocco and his own attempts to

return to the country; in 1958, said SOVREMENNYY VOSTOK, he had been allowed to return to Tangier, but remained under close police surveillance.

No Soviet comment was published on the dismissal of the Ibrahim Government in May, when the King himself personally assumed charge of the administration. Before this Y. Bochkarov published in NEW TIMES (Nos.17 and 20 of 1960) an account of visits to Casablanca and Rabat, in which he praised the radical programme of the Left-wing opposition to the Ibrahim Government. He gave a description of the ceremonies attending the King's drive to attend prayers in the mosque on Fridays, with the cautious comment that "tradition does not negate progress; the march of events dictates the country's advance, and that advance, though slow, is already evident in the Morocco of today".

Conferences and Campaigns

The All-African Peoples' Conference The second Conference of African Peoples, held in Tunis from 25th to 31st January, received the widest publicity in the Soviet Union. The conference was covered not only by a Tass correspondent and a correspondent of Moscow radio but also for PRAVDA by its special correspondent N. Prozhogin and for IZVESTIYA by V. Kudryavtsev. Reports on the conference proceedings and resolutions were published under banner headlines such as "Africa's Year", "Freedom and Independence for Africa" and "Unity is Essential". A delegation of the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee attended the conference in the capacity of observers.

The Sahara atomic bomb test Protests against the French atomic bomb test in the Sahara were publicized in the Soviet press, and Soviet solidarity with the campaign against bomb tests was emphasized.

The Accra conference The Extraordinary Conference of African Government and Public Organizations, held in Accra from 7th to 11th April, was the subject of reports in the Soviet press. A message from Khrushchev emphasized Soviet support for the African peoples' struggle against colonialism and also for peace and the creation of an "atom-free zone" in Africa.

The Conakry conference The second Afro-Asian Solidarity Conference, held in Conakry from 11th to 15th April, was attended by a Soviet delegation composed of representatives of the Soviet Central Asian and Caucasian republics, led by the Tadzhik writer Mirza Tursun-Zade. A

special correspondent of PRAVDA (15.4.60) said that a principal topic of discussion at the conference was "neo-colonialism" - attempts by the colonial powers and the USA to maintain economic domination over African countries that were now politically independent.

"Africa Freedom Day" "Africa Freedom Day", 15th April, was the subject of long articles in Soviet newspapers representing the Soviet Union as the firm friend of all African peoples and the Western powers as their inveterate enemy. In Moscow the day was marked by a public meeting under the chairmanship of A.F. Garmashev, President of the Soviet Association of Friendship with the Peoples of Africa. Yu.A. Bochkarev, a member of the council of the association, gave an address on the African peoples' struggle for freedom and independence, and the writer E.A. Dolmatovskiy and the trade union leader S.P. Samusenko spoke of their impressions of visits to African countries.

The Addis Ababa conference The second Conference of Independent African States, held in Addis Ababa from 14th to 25th June, was the subject of short reports in Soviet newspapers, based on Tass dispatches. PRAVDA published in full Khrushchev's message to the chairman of the conference, in which he spoke of Soviet sympathy with African aspirations for freedom and, in particular, for peace, and declared the Soviet Union's resolve to do all in its power to solve "the most important problem of the present day - the problem of all-round and complete disarmament".

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SOVIET DOCUMENTS ON THE CONGO

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S O V I E T D O C U M E N T S O N T H E C O N G O

The following record of Soviet published material on the Congo events covers the period from the beginning of the Congo disturbances to 25th July. The documents reproduced include the principal official Soviet statements, except those made at the UN. In addition, two Soviet newspaper articles are reproduced, because of their relevance to the important question of the Soviet attitude to the UN action in the Congo.

Soviet reporting of the Congo events Although Soviet newspapers from 14th July onwards devoted several columns of every issue to material on the Congo, under banner headlines and frequently accompanied by photographs and cartoons, factual reports on the actual Congo events were for the most part sparse and irregular. The first report on the disturbances (which began on 6th July) was published in IZVESTIYA on 10th July. On 12th July PRAVDA published a dispatch from Leopoldville from Oleg Orestov, its permanent correspondent in West Africa, who had covered the Congo independence celebrations. His account of the mutiny was that Gen. Janssens had tried to incite the Force Publique against the Congolese Government by telling the soldiers that, despite independence, there would be no changes in the army; but this "provocation" had misfired, and the soldiers had aimed their blows not against the Government but against the Belgian command. Orestov said that he himself had been turned out of his hotel room at rifle point by Congolese soldiers, but was later released; the soldiers, he explained, had been looking for Belgian officers, and "not always able to distinguish Belgians from other Europeans, in some cases they used violence against other foreigners in Leopoldville".

By 17th July Orestov had returned to Accra, and PRAVDA seems to have been without a correspondent in Leopoldville until 22nd July, when a new special correspondent K. Nepomnyashchiy arrived with one of the Soviet aircraft bringing food supplies. IZVESTIYA's special correspondent Khokhlov, who had covered the independence celebrations, sent no dispatch on subsequent events until 23rd July; it was explained that he had been travelling in the country, and had been unable to send reports since Belgian military intervention had resulted in the cutting of communications. The following is an excerpt of Khokhlov's dispatch:

> "The asphalt of the streets and the coloured tiles of the hotel entrances were covered with the blood of Congolese patriots. With their sub-machine-guns Belgian soldiers had shot down in the night the volunteers who were carrying out guard duty. The latter had only one weapon - the coloured sash on their chests and on their

shirt-sleeves a band with 'Independence' on it. The rays of the morning sun fell on the corpses of people killed by the criminal bullets of the 'humane' punitive squads. Righteous anger gave birth to heroes who fearlessly repulsed the onslaught of the Belgian units which were arriving. But the forces were unequal. The Belgian troops brought into action aircraft, heavy weapons and launches. When the UN troops began to arrive in the town all the most important districts of Leopoldville were already controlled by Belgian forces. This was not simply an armed onslaught by the imperialist plunderer. It was a tactic aimed at taking the population by hunger and starvation so as to arouse panic and a mood of despair."

The news of Lumumba's conclusion of a development contract with the American promoter Mr. Edgar Detwiler, published in the Western press on 22nd July, had not appeared in the Soviet press during the period under review, ending 25th July.

Official and Press comment The main points of subsequent Soviet comment on the Congo events were contained in Khrushchev's statement made at his press conference of 12th July (below, A). These were, that the Congolese soldiers were right to refuse to take orders from Belgian officers; that in sending troops to the Congo Belgium was trying to perpetuate colonial rule; and that NATO and the Western Powers were actively supporting the Belgian action. The theme of "collective imperialist aggression" was developed in the subsequent Soviet Government statement (B) and in Khrushchev's message to Lumumba (C).

Misgivings about the UN's attitude were expressed from the very first; Khrushchev said that the Security Council had been turned into an instrument of the USA, so that it "can hardly be expected to give sympathetic consideration to the justified demand of the people of the Congo"; and the Soviet statement referred to reports that the US Ambassador in the Congo was "working out plans to expand the intervention of the Western Powers in the Congo under the flag of the UN". Later press comment on the activities of Hammarskjoeld and Bunche (Part II) shows how these Soviet misgivings developed. At the same time, the proceedings of the Security Council were reported prominently and at length.

Articles by Soviet commentators denouncing the Congo "aggression" underlined the points made in the Soviet statements. For example K. Ivanov (PRAVDA 15.7.60) said that the intervention in the Congo was not only an imperialist plot against that country's independence but "a piratic provocation of the colonial powers, previously planned and worked out in detail, directed against the security of the peoples and of the whole world." Later (PRAVDA 21.7.60) Ivanov said that the Security Council's call for the withdrawal of Belgian forces was not enough: "the Security Council decision must be accompanied by really effective

measures ensuring the execution of this decision and the suppression of the aggression." It was impossible to regard Belgium's aggression in the Congo as a local one; "in these days any local conflict can quickly spread and create a direct threat to the whole world."

Solidarity with the Congolese people On 16th July the Soviet press reported mass meetings held in factories and elsewhere throughout the Soviet Union to express indignation against "imperialist intervention" in the Congo and Cuba, and sympathy and support for their peoples.

Expressions of solidarity from non-Soviet countries and organizations were prominently reported. These included the World Peace Council conference in Stockholm; the World Federation of Trade Unions; the Chinese People's Republic; Indonesia; the UAR, with its offer to send armed assistance if required; the Arab League; many African countries; and the National United Independence Party of Northern Rhodesia, which had sent a telegram to the Congo Government offering to send volunteers.

Soviet aid to the Congo Much publicity was given to the dispatch of Soviet aircraft and a Soviet ship to the Congo carrying provisions (below, E). The PRAVDA correspondent who accompanied the airlift reported at length the expressions of gratitude of the Congolese on the arrival of the foodstuffs.

I STATEMENTS AND MESSAGES

A. Khrushchev's Statement of 12th July

13.7.60 PRAVDA reported Khrushchev's press conference of 12th July, in the course of which he answered a question about the Congo situation.

Correspondent of ZA RUBEZHOM: "According to press reports the Congo Republic which became independent 12 days ago is the scene of disturbances, and the Belgian Government at the request of the Western Powers and on the pretext of protecting the interests of Europeans is taking measures of a military nature. What can you say on this question?"

Khrushchev: "These measures against the Republic of the Congo once more expose the aggressive essence of the military blocs of imperialists, their striving to perpetuate the colonial order. The military blocs of imperialism are designed to carry out a bandit policy. This is why it

is not only Belgium that is dispatching troops to the Congo. It is NATO that is sending troops to suppress the people of the Congo by force of arms. This is a policy of brigandage.

"The people of the Congo have risen to the struggle for independence. Now imperialists are sending troops into the Congo on the pretext of alleged disorder there while in fact real order is being introduced there. The people of the Congo want to establish genuine order, to expel the colonialists. The soldiers of the Congolese army refuse to take orders from Belgian officers. And they are perfectly right because Belgian officers are the same colonialists. The imperialists want to force them to submit to the colonialists. But this shows only that the colonialists are out of their reason. Is it not a fact that no person in his senses would try to extinguish a fire with paraffin or petrol, since it is clear to everyone that the more paraffin or petrol they pour into the fire the higher its flames will rise?

"The peoples of the Congo have risen to fight against colonialist oppression and they have won this fight. Now there is an attempt to reduce them to a colonial status again. It is to this end that the imperialists are dispatching their troops to the Congo. So what? Will the colonial peoples' struggle come to an end after this? Never! It will flare up still more. The colonial peoples fighting for their freedom and independence have our sympathies and our assistance. It is reported, although I am not sure whether this is true, that the Government of the Congo has appealed to the Security Council. This is the right thing to do. But the Security Council can hardly be expected to give sympathetic consideration to the justified demand of the peoples of the Congo. This body should be shown for what it is, so that the peoples could see that the Security Council has been turned by the USA into an instrument for suppressing the freedom-loving peoples and keeping the peoples in colonial bondage. To expose this course of action of the Security Council is a necessary and useful thing so as to let the peoples see where the danger comes from. We brand with ignominy such actions of the Belgian Government which violates legal rights and intervenes in the internal affairs of the Republic of the Congo."

B. Soviet Government Statement of 13th July

14.7.60 Under the heading "Stop the Aggression of the Colonizers" PRAVDA published the text of the Soviet Government statement addressed to the Governments of Belgium, the USA, Britain, France and Germany, dated 13th July. The following is the text of the statement; headings have been added.

"As a result of the prolonged and brave struggle of the Congolese people against foreign colonial enslavers, on 30th June 1960 the independence of the Republic of the Congo was proclaimed. One of the largest

countries in Africa, with a population of over 13,000,000 people, and with very rich natural and economic resources, entered the ranks of independent African States. The Soviet Union, like the overwhelming majority of the countries of the world, recognized the Republic of the Congo as an independent sovereign State. The Security Council on 5th July unanimously adopted a decision to recommend the UN General Assembly to receive the Republic of the Congo as a member of the UN.

Preconcerted Measures against the New Republic

"However, immediately after the proclamation of the independence of the Congo, the officials of the former Belgian colonial administration who remained there, with the direct complicity of the diplomatic representatives of the Western Powers - the USA, Britain and France - in contravention of international law and the UN Charter, undertook measures directed at undermining the sovereignty and liquidating the independence of the young Congolese State. In the capital of the Congo, Leopoldville, and a number of provinces, extensive provocations were organized against the first national Government of the Congo, headed by Premier Patrice Lumumba, and the Republic's President, Joseph Kasavubu.

"The Belgian officers who during the colonial regime were in posts of command in the Congolese Army provoked armed incidents in a number of camps for African soldiers, who were discontented with their poor material position and lack of rights under the colonial regime. A group of Belgian officers, according to widely published information, made an attempt on the life of Premier Lumumba.

"However, these provoked incidents soon assumed an anti-colonialist character; Belgian officers were dismissed from commands in the Congolese Army and were replaced by Congolese.

"Striving to create artificially a situation in the country which they could use as a pretext for armed interference, ultra-reactionary adventurers backed by large foreign monopolies organized a panic among the Europeans in the Congo. The entire trend of events shows that these provocations were prepared beforehand, parallel with the negotiations between the Belgian authorities and the leaders of the Congolese people on the granting of independence. This is also borne out by the fact that, from the moment these events began, the former Belgian colonialist authorities sent gangs of criminal elements and provocateurs to large Congo towns.

"In the last few days the Government of Belgium, supported by the USA, Britain, the Federal German Republic and France, undertook direct military intervention against the Congolese Republic. In spite of resolute protests by the Congo Government, the Belgian Government sent

to that sovereign country military detachments; it announced the call-up of reserve parachute troops and is undertaking measures to expand further this armed intervention. At the moment Belgian parachute troops and other military units are occupying Congo towns.

"Using their forces for military operations in Congo territory and sending ever new forces to the Congo in spite of the protests of the Government, Belgium is grossly violating not only the territorial integrity but also the political independence of the Congo. In other words, it is engaging in actions which have long since been qualified by international law as acts of aggression.

Complicity of NATO, the USA, Western Germany and Britain

"Further, the fact that the Belgian Government is sending to the Congo forces which are under NATO command and which are based on the territory of the Federal German Republic shows once again the part played by the aggressive NATO pact, assuming the character of an international gendarme, in the colonial suppression of the peoples of Africa.

"According to foreign press reports, the 24th US Infantry Division, which is in the Federal German Republic, has been brought to combat readiness. It is intended to be used to suppress the struggling Congolese people. American transport aircraft, Hercules S-130s, are ready in Frankfurt-on-Main to take the division to the Congo. It is noteworthy that it was precisely the 24th US Division which took part in the US military intervention which came to grief in the Lebanon.

"Thus an actual part in the plot of the colonialists against the young Congolese Republic is being taken by the Adenauer Government, which, as during the US-British aggression against Lebanon and Jordan in July 1958, is making available its air bases to dispatch units of foreign troops to independent Congo.

"Leading circles in Britain, who are using the authorities of its dependent territories, are directly concerned in the intervention against the Republic of Congo. Thus the Government of the British colony, the Nyasaland and Rhodesia Federation, bordering on the Congo, threatens to use armed force against the Republic of the Congo. According to press reports, the authorities in Rhodesia and Nyasaland have called up certain classes of reservists and have concentrated their forces on the frontier of the Republic of the Congo; moreover, the press reports that lorry-loads of soldiers have already penetrated the Congo from Northern Rhodesia.

"The Portuguese Government, notorious throughout the world at large for its atrocities in the African colonies of Angola and Mozambique, has

concentrated forces along the border of Angola and the Republic of the Congo.

The USA and the UN

"No one can disregard reports that the US Ambassador in the Congo, Timberlake, is at the moment in Leopoldville and is interfering in the domestic affairs of the Republic of the Congo, and, making use of the presence there of the Deputy Secretary-General of the UN, the American Bunche, is working out plans to expand the intervention of the Western Powers in the Congo under the flag of the UN.

Pretexts for Aggression

"In utterances by several statesmen of the Western Powers and in the press of those Powers, attempts are being made to find a 'legal foundation' to justify the aggression against the Republic of the Congo. Therein much is being made of the necessity of protecting the lives and property of citizens of the USA, Britain, Belgium and France who are in the Congo.

"Everybody, however, remembers that similar hypocritical arguments were used by the USA in attempts to justify armed intervention in Lebanon in 1958, an intervention which was resolutely condemned by an emergency session of the UN General Assembly. It should be stressed that references to protecting the 'lives of residents' of another country and the necessity of re-establishing 'order' is a hackneyed method, and that it has been used more than once to conceal armed intervention by colonialist powers in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America during the 19th century and the early 20th century. The fact that recourse is now again being had to these piratical methods shows clearly the predatory nature of the 'new version of colonialism' practised by the USA and other imperialist States.

"No shifts which the colonialists may employ can conceal the facts of their armed aggression in the Congo, which is a most gross violation of the basic principles of the UN and the principles of Bandung.

"The Government of the Congo has, with full justification, made a resolute protest against the violation by foreign forces of the Congo's national sovereignty and has given a warning that the Congolese people will defend their country against all who try to occupy it.

Katanga

"Having embarked on the course of intervention against the Republic of the Congo, the colonialist powers are now trying to dismember the Congo. A pawn of foreign monopolies, one Tshombe, contrary to the clearly expressed will of the Congolese people and in violation of the basic law of the Republic, has declared the 'secession' of Katanga Province from the Republic of the Congo.

"The efforts of the colonialists are at the moment aimed at separating from the Congo her richest provinces, for the purpose of dismembering and economically stifling the young Republic.

"The Soviet Government deems it necessary to declare that all attempts to sever this or that province from the Republic of the Congo are an illegal and criminal act, prompted by the selfish interests of a handful of financial and industrial magnates of the colonial Powers.

An End to Colonialism and Aggression

"The colonialist intervention in the Congo provides fresh proof that certain Powers and, primarily, the USA, are continuing along the dangerous path of aggression and provocation.

"The Soviet Union, like other peace-loving States, resolutely condemns this perfidious aggression against the Republic of the Congo; it fully supports the just demand of the conferences of independent States and peoples of Africa in Accra and Addis Ababa, concerning the immediate granting of independence to all countries and peoples in Africa where the shameful colonial system is still preserved.

"The Soviet Government warns of the heavy responsibility accruing to leading circles of the Western Powers who have unleashed armed aggression in the Congo, and insists on its immediate cessation.

"The Government of the USSR considers that in view of the serious situation which has arisen in the Congo, and which threatens the peace and security of the peoples, the UN should take immediate steps to put an end to the aggression and fully to re-establish the sovereign rights of the independent Republic of the Congo."

C. Exchange of Messages between Congo Leaders and Khrushchev

16.7.60 Under the heading "Hands off the Congo Republic!" PRAVDA published a message from Khrushchev to Kasavubu and Lumumba, dated 15th July,

in reply to a telegram from them sent from Kindu on 14th July. The telegram (which PRAVDA printed after Khrushchev's message) was as follows:

"To His Excellency the Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the Soviet Union, Moscow. In the face of the threat hanging over the neutrality of the Republic of the Congo from Belgium and certain Western countries who support the Belgian plot against our independence, we beg you to follow hourly the development of the situation in the Congo. It is possible that we will be forced to ask the Soviet Union to intervene, if the Western camp does not cease its aggression against the sovereignty of the Republic of the Congo. At the present moment Congolese State territory has been occupied by Belgian trocps, and the lives of the President of the Republic and the Prime Minister are in danger. President of the Republic Joseph Kasavubu. Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence Patrice Lumumba."

Khrushchev's message was as follows:

"To the President of the Republic of the Congo, Joseph Kasavubu. To the Prime Minister and Minister of National Defence Patrice Lumumba.

"The Soviet Government and the peoples of the Soviet Union are following unremittingly the development of events in the Republic of the Congo, which has become a victim of imperialist aggression. We understand the difficulties of your position and realise the great international importance of the heroic struggle of the Congolese people for the independence and integrity of the Republic of the Congo.

"The nations know well the face of the colonialists, their innumerable atrocities in the Congo and other parts of Africa, their extermination of millions of people, their attempt to seal the Congo off hermetically from the outside world. For decades they have jabbered about their 'civilising mission' to the Congo, but they have seen to it that not one Congolese has received a higher education or could be made an officer in the army. The behaviour of leading circles in Belgium cannot but arouse condemnation - they signed a treaty of friendship with the independent Republic of the Congo and then crumpled it up before the whole world like a scrap of paper.

"It is not difficult to see that those who undertook armed intervention in the Congo and who pushed the Belgians into it want to strike a blow at all the peoples of Africa and maintain inviolate the medieval, slave-owning order on a large part of the African continent. The hand of the aggressor, raised against the independence of the Congo, is simultaneously raised against Nigeria, Madagascar, Mali, Togo and other African countries which have only just received independence or should receive it in the immediate future.

"Your struggle is the struggle of hundreds and hundreds of millions of people in Africa, Asia and Latin America. Indo-China, Algeria, Suez, Guatemala, Lebanon and Jordan, Guinea and Cuba - those are links in the one chain of imperialist post-war policy aimed at not giving the enslaved peoples the possibility of consolidating their independence, attaining national freedom and building a new life with enjoyment of the national resources of their countries and all the great achievements of modern science, technology and agriculture.

"The imperialist intervention against the Republic of the Congo is an attempt to delay the process of the complete liberation of Africa and, if possible, to reverse it. Each African colony is run now by several colonial powers, whose big monopolies plunder the peoples of these countries for the sake of their despicable profits. It is well known that the old Congo was not only a Belgian colony. The bayonet was Belgian, but the bosses were the big American, Belgian, British and West German monopolies. And when the Congolese people threw off the Belgian colonial yoke, they threw off the collective colonial yoke of imperialism on the Congo. That is why the present aggression against the Congo, carried out by Belgian troops, is in essence a collective imperialist aggression of those powers whose big monopolies were firmly established in the Congo and above all in its richest province, Katanga.

"The Soviet Union has already resolutely condemned the imperialist aggression in regard to the Republic of the Congo. It has expressed the view that the UN should take measures to stop the aggression and fully re-establish the sovereign rights of the independent Republic of the Congo.

"In an atmosphere of the growing indignation of nations angered by the imperialist aggression in the Congo, the UN Security Council has taken a useful step by adopting a resolution calling on the Belgian Government to evacuate Belgian troops from the territory of the Congo.

"If the aggression continues, despite this resolution, then the Soviet Government declares that the necessity will arise of taking more effective measures both on the part of the UN and of the peace-loving States sympathising with the cause of the Congo.

"If the States which are directly carrying out the imperialist aggression against the Congo Republic and those inciting them continue their criminal actions, then the Soviet Union will not hesitate to take decisive measures to stop the aggression.

"The Soviet Government proceeds from the fact that the aggression in the Congo is not simply a local conflict, and the question of stopping this aggression has enormous importance for the whole world. The imperialist powers want to confront the world with the accomplished fact of brigandage and plunder in respect of a peace-loving African State.

Having stifled one victim, they count on later stifling other independent States. The cause of the Congo is therefore the cause of the whole of civilised humanity.

"The demand of the Soviet Union is simple - hands off the Congo Republic!

"The Government of the Congo can rest assured that the Soviet Government will offer the Congo Republic the necessary assistance which may be demanded for the victory of your just cause.

"With all its heart the Soviet Union wishes the legal Government and all the people of the Congo success in its just and sacred struggle for its State independence."

D. Statement Alleging US Military Intervention

20.7.60 Under the heading "Remove the American Military Group from the Congo!" PRAVDA published the following statement of the Soviet Government addressed to the Government of the USA, dated 20th July:

"According to a report of the American agency Associated Press, a detachment of American soldiers, 20 in number, has landed at the airport of Leopoldville, the capital of the Congo Republic. According to the same report, American officers emphasised that the aforesaid military group had arrived to give assistance in the operations of forces sent by certain States to the Congo in accordance with the well-known decision of the Security Council.

"The Soviet Government considers it necessary to draw the attention of the Government of the USA to the fact that the dispatch of the aforesaid American military group to the capital of the Republic of the Congo is an inadmissible act. In connexion with this the Soviet Government is making a protest to the Government of the USA, and expects that the aforesaid military group will be withdrawn immediately from the territory of the Republic of the Congo. The Soviet Government considers it necessary to declare also that if the said group of American soldiers and officers is not withdrawn then the Soviet Government will be forced to draw from this the appropriate conclusions for its own actions."

E. Soviet Aid to the Congo

17.7.60 Under the heading "Brotherly Aid to the People of the Congo Republic" PRAVDA published the following message from Khrushchev to Lumumba, dated 16th July:

"The Soviet Government has learnt of the difficult position of the

population of the Congo Republic over the supply of food caused by the imperialist aggression unleashed against the Congo. We understand these difficulties since we endured them ourselves in the first years of the existence of the Soviet State. Moved by the friendly brotherly feelings of the Soviet people to the people of the Congo who are heroically defending their freedom and independence, the Soviet Government has decided to assist the Republic of the Congo with food supplies and has informed the Secretary-General of the UN of this. The 10,000 tons of food to be sent include 1,000 tons of sugar and 300,000 tins of milk products, and the rest is wheat.

"The foodstuffs concerned will be sent urgently by plane, and also by the dispatch of a special Soviet ship.

"The Soviet Government regards this aid as an expression of its sympathy towards the people of the Congo and its lawful Government and at the same time as an expression of its resolve to promote the triumph of the just cause for which the Republic of the Congo is fighting in defending its independence."

20.7.60 PRAVDA published the following report:

"As has already been reported in the press, the Soviet Government, moved by the friendly, brotherly feelings of the Soviet people towards the Congolese people, has decided to assist the Congo Republic with food supplies.

"On the morning of 19th July three IL-18 aircraft left Moscow for Leopoldville via Rome, Rabat and Accra. On board these planes is the first consignment of food being sent by the Soviet Government to the Congo Republic. Within the next few days the steamer Leninogorsk will leave Odessa for the Congo with a cargo of wheat, sugar and condensed milk.

"The Government of Ghana has made a request to the Soviet Government through the Soviet Embassy in Accra for assistance in transporting from Ghana to the Congo Republic the Ghana troops being sent to the Congo Republic in accordance with the decision of the UN Security Council. The Soviet Government, meeting the wishes of the Ghana Government, has decided to comply with this request.

"For this purpose the following arrangements have been made: The three Soviet IL-18 aircraft, after delivering their relief supplies of food from Moscow to Leopoldville, will be sent to Accra and will make the necessary number of flights to transport the Ghana troops from Accra to Leopoldville. In addition, for the purpose of transporting Ghana troops the Soviet Government in accordance with the above request of the Ghana Government has provided a further two IL-18 aircraft which,

immediately on arrival in Ghana, will start transporting Ghana troops to the Congo Republic."

II NEWSPAPER ARTICLES

IZVESTIYA on the Conduct of the UN Operations

21.7.60 IZVESTIYA published the following article, signed "Observer", under the heading "A Dangerous Game over the Congo":

The independent sovereign State of the Congo has become the victim of imperialist aggression. As was said in the Soviet Government statement of 13th July, by sending more and more troops into the Congo despite the protests of its Government, Belgium "is grossly violating both the territorial integrity and political independence of the Congo; in other words, she is committing actions of a kind which international law has long ago qualified as an act of aggression".

The Government of the Congo addressed a complaint to the Security Council, which at its session on 14th July considered it necessary to call on the Belgian Government to withdraw its forces from the territory of the Congo Republic and offer the Congo military aid. This military aid should continue until such time as the Congolese security forces are in a position to cope fully with their tasks themselves. In short, the intention of the Security Council resolution is to assist the Government of the Congo Republic to defend the independence and sovereignty of the country.

It would seem that everything should be clear. However, the game which certain circles of the imperialist powers, not without the support of leading officials of the UN, are organising over the Congo must arouse anxiety and alarm.

UN forces have already arrived and continue to arrive in the Congo. At present there are military units from Ghana, Morocco and Tunisia on the territory of the Republic. It is quite natural that the forces of independent African States should be the first to arrive in the Congo. Who, if not the African States, should give assistance to the Congo in defence of its independence from encroachments on the part of the colonialists? Even Dag Hammarskjoeld, Secretary-General of the UN, recognized this in his report on the implementation of the Security Council resolution on the Congo. The international aid which the Congo needs, says Hammarskjoeld, in the first instance within the framework of the UN, "should be provided by its sister African countries as an act of African solidarity." But in practice the UN Secretary-General contra-

dicts this very important proposition which he himself put forward in the report. In reply to the offer of the Guinea Government to send military units to the Congo Hammarskjoeld, according to Reuter, declared that there was no need for the immediate despatch of Guinea forces to the Congo. Incidentally, the same Hammarskjoeld, replying to a similar offer from the Sudanese Government, said that it was preferable to send to the Congo French-speaking African troops. The Guinea forces completely meet this requirement. Consequently the reluctance of Hammarskjoeld and in all probability of certain imperialist circles too, who enjoy influence in the UN, to see Guinea forces in the Congo is due to other causes. The Guinea army is one of the African armies which has completely rid itself of the influence of the colonialist powers and has its own commanding officers.

The position of Hammarskjoeld puts one on one's guard even more since at the same time he announced the forthcoming arrival in the Congo of troops from Italy and Canada, that is from countries belonging to the NATO military grouping and, consequently, carrying out the orders not so much of the UN as of NATO military headquarters. It is typical too that American military personnel have arrived in the Congo, although their presence in the Congo was not in any way envisaged. According to an announcement of the US Ministry of Defence, there are not 20 American soldiers in the Congo, as was reported earlier, but more than 100.

Another circumstance attracts attention too. Belgian forces are not only not leaving Congolese territory, but are continuing to receive reinforcements. As the UN forces arrive in the Congo they occupy the districts formerly occupied by Belgian troops. However the Belgian units are not evacuated from the country but are transferred to other regions of the Congo, which are loyal to the Congolese Government. The result is that the UN forces are used not to defend the independence and sovereignty of the Congo, as follows from the Security Council resolution, but give the Belgian troops assistance in committing aggression against the Congo.

What is more, in his report Hammarskjoeld speaks of the Belgian troops in the Congo in a very solicitous tone, regarding them almost as part of those UN armed forces which are called on to defend the independence and territorial integrity of the Congo Republic. Speaking about the withdrawal of Belgian troops, Hammarskjoeld writes that "we must not lose sight of (!) this aspect of the problems which are mentioned in the resolution". A couple of sentences further on he says only that "Belgian intervention must be limited". And again another two or three sentences later he adds "it has been suggested" to the Belgian command "that they carry out the instructions of the military command of the UN forces". What does all this mean if not an indulgent attitude to a barefaced aggressor, to say the least?

This position of the UN Secretary-General is confirmed also in

practice. The Belgian troops which should have been withdrawn from the Congo are still occupying Leopoldville airport and thus controlling the links of the Congo with the outside world. And this is done despite the fact that units of Ghanaian, Moroccan and Tunisian troops have already arrived in the Congo. But it seems that the commander of the UN forces, the Swedish Major-General Karl von Horn, is waiting for the arrival of a Swedish battalion from Gaza. He has declared that the guarding of Leopoldville will be handed over to this battalion by the Belgian troops. One ought to mention that von Horn, commander of the UN forces which are called to defend the independence and sovereignty of the Congo, has up to now not established relations with the Congo Government but made his first contacts with the command of the Belgian forces and with the commander of the Ghana forces, the British General Alexander.

In the light of these facts it is impossible not to express alarm at the dangerous game which imperialist States are organizing over the Congo. It looks as if they are trying to use the Security Council resolution, making use of the more than strange position of Hammarskjoeld as a cover for supporting Belgian aggression against the Congo Republic. At the same time it must not be forgotten that big American and British capitalist monopolies, closely connected with their respective governments, have very big interests in the copper and uranium industry of the Congo.

Peace-loving forces in all countries must intensify their demands for a stop to the imperialist aggression against the independent Congo. Belgian troops must be withdrawn immediately from the Congo in accordance with the Security Council resolution. The group of American military personnel should also be withdrawn immediately, as the Soviet Government demanded in the interests of peace and the security of the Congolese State. The UN leaders must abandon a position which encourages the aggressors rather than helps the Congo defend its independence and sovereignty.

The demand - Hands off the Congo Republic! - must become the demand of all who value the interests of peace, freedom and the independence of nations.

22.7.60 IZVESTIYA published the following dispatch from its special correspondent at the UN, N. Karev, under the heading "For whom is Bunche Working?"

More than a week has passed since the Security Council passed a resolution about the withdrawal of Belgian troops from the territory of the Congo Republic. However things are still where they were. The aggressors are brazenly extending the theatre of their military actions in the Congo.

On 20th July at the demand of the Soviet Union an extraordinary

meeting of the Security Council was called late in the evening for the purpose of taking immediate measures to restrain the aggressors. The Secretary-General of the UN, Hammarskjoeld, making a report at this meeting of the Council, stated that Belgian troops had agreed "to limit their military intervention to the defence of Belgian citizens"(!). But what about the withdrawal of troops mentioned in the Security Council resolution? Hammarskjoeld could say nothing definite on this.

The statements and actions of the UN Secretary-General are based, as he reported to the Security Council, on the despatches and recommendations of his special representative in the Congo who is the American citizen, Bunche, who holds a high position in the UN Secretariat.

The special representative of the UN Secretary-General in the Congo is carrying out a strange policy. It is a policy which is not compatible either with the spirit of the Security Council resolution or with the UN Charter. Bunche takes no notice of the opinion of the Congo Government and openly defends the interests of the aggressor, who is supported by the US and the colonial powers. Bunche is behaving in the Congo as an agent of Washington may behave and not like the representative of the UN Secretary-General. The representative of the Congo, Kanza, gave a fairly detailed account of this at the meeting of the Security Council on 20th July.

When the Government of the Congo demanded the withdrawal of Belgian troops, Bunche immediately rejected this demand without even consulting the UN but after seeking advice from the American and Belgian ambassadors.

UN armed forces are arriving in the Congo, but Belgian troops are not even thinking of leaving Congolese territory. Bunche pays no attention to the Security Council resolution, and the aggressors are preparing for a decisive attack with the use of aircraft. And the more armed forces arrive in the Congo, the more brazen become the actions of the representative of the UN Secretary-General in favour of Belgium and the other colonial powers.

In the last few days it has become clear that Bunche is not altogether happy about the UN armed forces which are being recruited from the military formations of African States. He has already refused Guinea the opportunity of supplying a military detachment. After a conference with the Ambassadors of the USA, Britain and Belgium Bunche recommended the UN Secretary-General to bring into the Congo the armed forces of Canada, Italy and Latin America, that is to say of countries which belong to military blocs controlled by the USA. What is more, he wants US forces also to operate in the Congo under the UN flag, and is promoting this in every way.

Bunche's idea about creating the armed forces from the body of non-

African States is being taken seriously in the UN Secretariat, as is apparent from Hammarskjoeld's report to the Security Council. The activity of Hammarskjoeld's special assistant in the Congo is widely discussed in the lobbies and journalistic circles. Here they say that Bunche's dark skin does not stop him carrying out a policy whose aim is to smother the freedom and independence of a young African State. As we see, there are various kinds of Negro in America.

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